174 It seems to have existed in ancient times among all the Hamites. Frobenius sees traces of it in traditional customs which leave the raising of the tent to the women and give them a monopoly on leather-work. These singular characteristics reveal the primordial nature of the sentiment of life among the Hamites. (1)

1. In Jenson, "Les orbes culturels de l'Afrique /Culture Spheres of Africa/," L'Afrique, Cahiers d'art, 1931.

428 554 622 Among the Ihaggaren, the wife wills her social and political rights to her children. These are particularly important when it is a question of the succession of a chief. Political filiation of the first degree is made to the brother; in the second degree to the eldest son of the maternal aunt; in the third degree, to the eldest son of the eldest sister, which constitutes a guarantee for blood descent in the line of chiefs.

184 622 The Ioullimmiden /Aulliminden/ do not practice political succession according to matriarchal rules. The explorer Barth has even reported that they consider this custom shameful "and show that the chief has little confidence in his wife's virtue." (2)

2. Voyages et découvertes en Afrique /Travels and Discoveries in Africa/, vol. I, p. 205.

174 Though command is now the privilege of the men, it is not impossible that in the past women were invested with power. We have evidence of it in the story of the Berber queen, Kahéna, who for a long time resisted the Arab invaders who were trying to conquer Aurès in the eighth century. The legend of Ti-n-Hinan, maternal ancestor of the Ihaggaren Tuareg, leads us to believe that the woman was their queen. In 1475, a Berber fraction settled

631 781 [794] The Dag Rali are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Asekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dag Rali. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 [648] Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dag Rali, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilaman wadi in [777] order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

622 631 717 time. Unfortunately the garden was abandoned after Father de Foucauld was gone.

Although it is difficult to imagine, Father de Foucauld had even thought of Ouksem ag Ourar as a possible aménokal, against all Tuareg social rules.

But what remains of all that? The dead are quickly forgotten among the Tuareg, and although Ouksem may recall from time to time that the marabout was his good friend, it is to be presumed that he, no more than his Dăg Râli, understood the devotion and the affection which was to cost the life of the hermit in the Sahara.

631 The Ikechchemâden, whom we have mentioned previously, have always lived near the Dăg Râli, with whom they used to form only a single tribe. Upon the distribution of the Imrad, they became the vassals of the Tâitok, but they remained with the Dăg Râli and contracted numerous unions with them so that it is difficult to tell them apart. And so, in 1907, they asked to be attached to the tobol of the Kel Rela.

173 631 The Ăgouh-en-Tehlé. -- The Ăgouh-en-Tehlé form the most important Imrad tribe in the Ahaggar after the Dăg Râli. They are said to have formerly nomadized in the neighborhood of In /194/ Gall in Aïr and have emigrated into the Ahaggar because of the demands of the Sultan of Agadez on whom they originally depended. The latter had polygamous mores and each year demanded of them a young and pretty virgin. Tired of this custom, which was contrary to Tuareg mores, they left the country and came to place themselves under the protection of the aménokal of the Kel Rela, Younès, the son (?) of Kella (ca. 1700). (The version reported by Mr. Benhazéra says "son of Mohamed el Kheir.")

Before coming to seek protection from the Ihăggaren, they belonged to the tribe of the Tégéhé-n-Élimen, a name by which they are still called sometimes. One fraction of this tribe remained in Aïr and bears the name of Ir'Alaman or Kel Rapsa. They were the ones chiefly responsible for founding the Ghat oasis.

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds
[101] fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these
[565] are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] *A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

†Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
551 as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

●622 ‡A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the clan rather than of the individual, for the
614 Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
[554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol," [6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the
614 Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole [7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
[643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is
●622 chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by
562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

622 ship, and so an undesirable heir-apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct heir who is considered acceptable (Butaye, 1957).

614 The position of an Ahaggar Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans will sometimes break away from one tribe in times of adversity and attach themselves to another and more powerful tribe that is better able to protect them. In the old days vassal clans were sometimes swapped back and forth between noble clans, and so had their tribal allegiance changed for them more or less arbitrarily. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, has been reduced from noble to vassal status, in this case by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. Thus the distribution of the various clans within the tribal framework of the confederation tends to change gradually [578] over the years, while internal tribal crises and intertribal warfare naturally accelerate the process.

[582] Marriage is usually although not always within the clan but outside the first degree of 614 cousinship and outside the camp community or fraction. A child of Tuareg parents inherits 611 rank and privileges through the mother, re- 428 gardless of whether she is a member of the father's clan or not; but the child is known as "Such-and-such, child of So-and-so," the parent thus referred to being the father, and inheritance of property follows Moslem law (*see* the Koran, iv, 12 and 175) which provides that a male heir shall receive twice as much as a female heir who is related to the deceased in the same degree. Today a Targui, asked to give his ancestry, will recite the list of male forebears in his father's line, although Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 321) tells us that in the 14th century descent was counted through the mother's brother, and a man's heirs were his sister's children rather than his own. Bates (1914, p. 112), citing Duveyrier (1864, p. 397), says that property acquired by force of arms used to be inherited by "the eldest son of the eldest sister of the deceased."

591 A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year and then usually move over to a camp of the husband's people, but they sometimes settle permanently among the clansfolk of the bride if she and her

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
121 a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

423 **Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
643 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.

622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

423 Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
[565] rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:– 582

Mother's brother's daughter	3
Father's sister's daughter	7
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Mother's sister's daughter	11
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter	9
Other kinswomen	8
Marriages total	44

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Aǧouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amɣar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

565 [563] /57 cont./ The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] [631] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always [166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing [567] poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

/149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is concerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices. Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/

VI

Conclusion

The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the a action it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to